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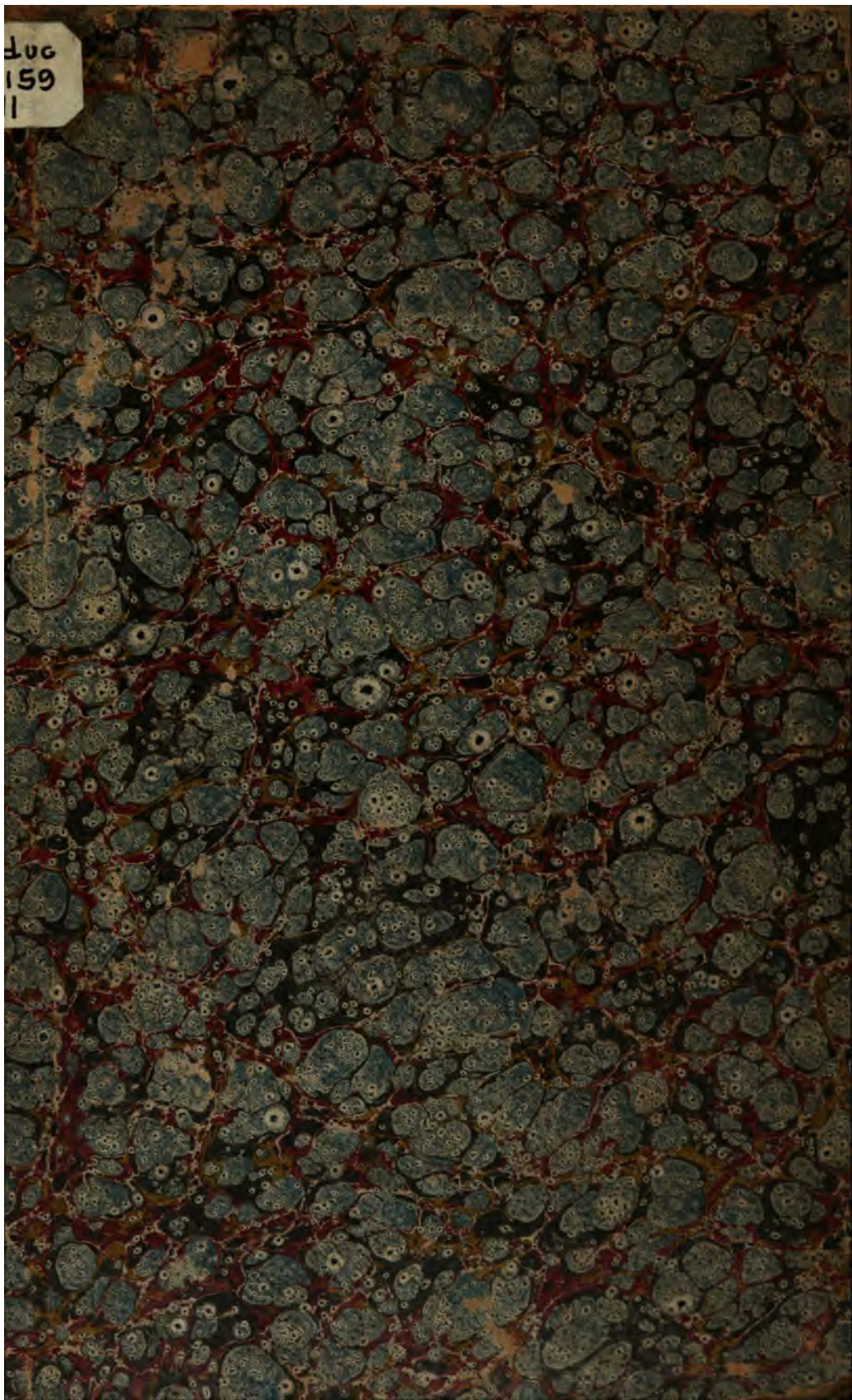
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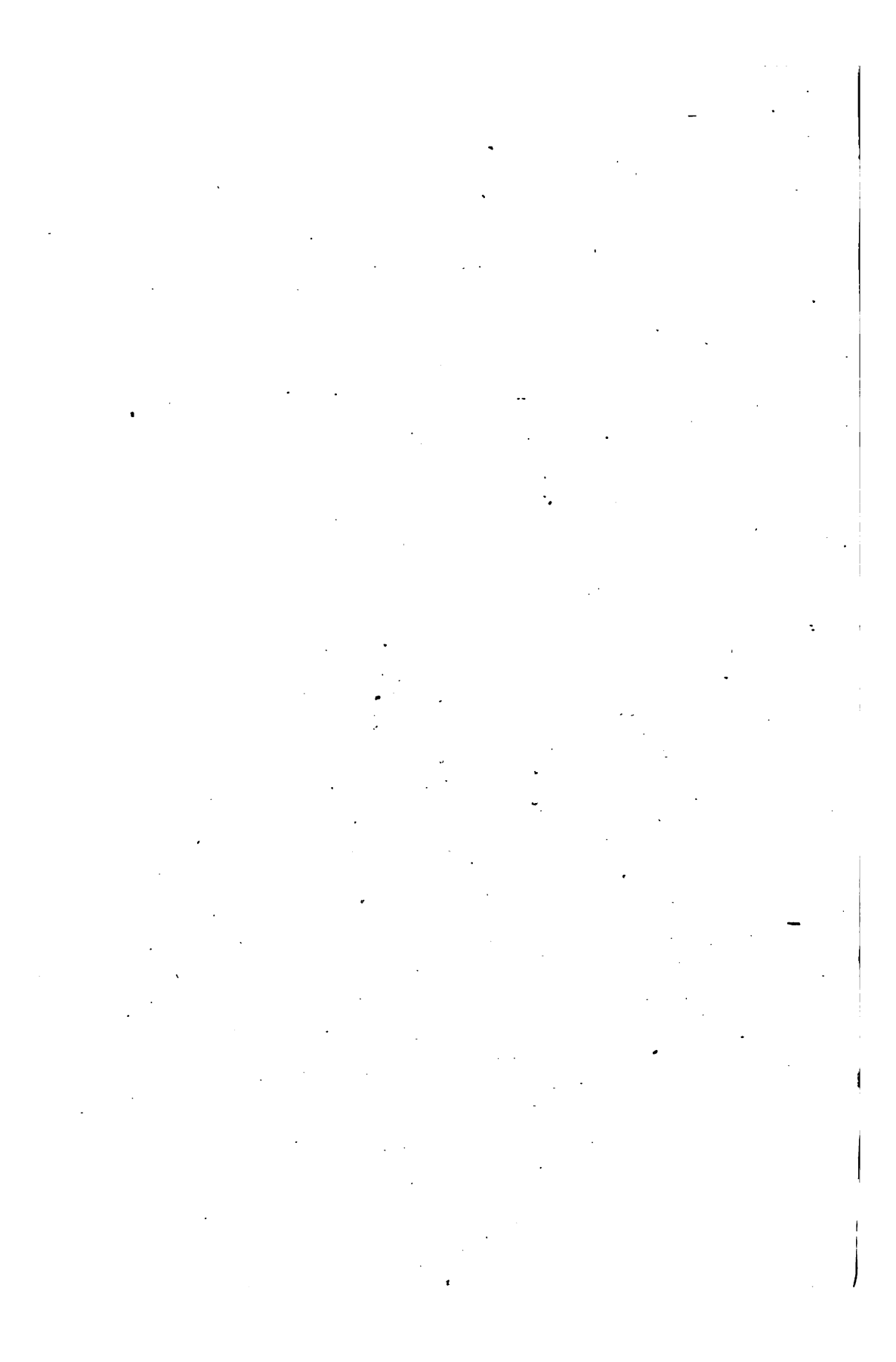
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LONDON

R. CLAY, SONS, AND TAYLOR,
BREAD STREET HILL.

ing the swallows skimming buoyantly around me. Once a hawk showed itself for a moment, swooping nearly to the edge of the parapet, and darting away again in undisguised astonishment when it perceived my presence. Below, in the bed of the stream, women and girls were busy spreading out clothes upon the sand to dry, the osiers throwing a broken tremulous shadow across them and across the brown pools where the frogs were croaking lustily. Presently a little chaise containing three people, two men and a woman, drove up and stopped in the middle of the market place. The men got down and helped the woman—who wore, I noticed, a brilliantly red shawl—to descend; then all three began mounting the steep path towards the castle. As they came nearer I recognised them. They were Colomba, her father, and young Zecchi the cousin. The heiress had come to inspect her possessions!

It may have been, and I have no doubt it was, very contemptible indeed upon my part, but I felt that it was simply impossible for me to wait there and face them; so, rapidly descending the stairs, I hastily gained the gate of the castle before they had time to reach it. Then leaving the regular pathway to the right, I scrambled in a sufficiently breakneck and ignominious fashion down the hill to the village; pounced upon my driver, much to the disgust of that gentleman, and announced that I should require the carriage in ten minutes. Then, still in terror of an accidental encounter, I walked on to where a long low bridge crossed the two streams, and stood looking over the parapet into the water.

A slight shower was falling, but the sun still shone brightly at intervals. The women I had seen from above were still walking about the river bed, occasionally stooping to pick up a handful of linen; their shadows ludicrously distorted, now hugely distended, now enormously elongated, as

they alternately bent or stood upright. Everywhere the fantastic light was appearing and disappearing. Here shining fiercely upon the small red or yellow pergolas crowded along the river edge; there catching upon a balcony, or beaming like a new decoration upon the headgear of a mule. All at once it blazed upon a conspicuous spot of colour which had just appeared upon the top of the castle. It was the red shawl of the heiress, who had now attained to precisely the same station occupied by me a little earlier; nay, even at this distance I fancied that I could discern that statuesque turn of the shoulders which had so fatally bewitched my poor friend's impetuous fancy.

With a hasty malediction I turned again, and sped along the road heedless of where I was going. What fatality had ever brought him within sight or ken of her? I thought vindictively. What still greater fatality could have ever put it into his head to fall in love with that handsome vulgar piece of stupidity? Even for my own share of the tragedy I could not forbear throwing a stone at the fates as I went. When a man has attained to what an Italian saying calls the middle floor of life, his love of change, his capacity for friendships, for new experiments of all sorts, grows blunted and limited. The shadows close in; the autumnal mists descend. In the youth and lightheartedness of my new friend I had thought, perhaps flattered myself, that I for a while, at any rate, had grown also younger and more lighthearted. Now he was gone, and the old shadows made themselves even more conspicuously seen and felt than heretofore. The world henceforward promised, I felt, to be a duller, greyer, less cheerful place of residence, wanting that youth, strength, vitality, exuberance, which was lost to it and to me for ever when Donald Maclean died.

E. L.

AN OXFORD COLLEGE UNDER JAMES I. AND CHARLES I.

THE seventeenth century, so memorable in the history of the nation and of Oxford, also contributes some eventful chapters to a collegiate biography of Merton. When it opened, Queen Elizabeth still occupied the throne; the University was obsequiously loyal; and Merton basked in the sunshine of Court favour under the genial and scholarlike rule of Sir Henry Savile. When it closed, after witnessing the Great Rebellion and the only English Revolution, the Stuart dynasty had come and gone; William III. was reigning by a title the very reverse of Divine Right; the University, after being distracted by the Civil War, and the Parliamentary Visitation, had become a stronghold of Tory reaction; and Merton College, reverting to its older and more liberal traditions, was a nursery of Whig principles, as they were understood in that age. The contemporary annals preserved in the College Register, travelling over the gravest historical incidents, and the pettiest details of household economy with a sublime official disregard of proportion, enable us to realize in some degree the part taken by Merton in the great national drama; and at the same time remind us how little a corporate society, with an inner life of its own, may be affected by storms which shake the whole fabric of Church and State.

During the last twenty years of Savile's Wardenship, embracing nearly the whole reign of James I., little occurred to disturb the tranquillity of the University, or of the College. The former was sadly wasting its recovered vigour in barren controversies between the Calvinistic or Puritan school, represented by Lawrence Humphrey and John Prideaux, both Regius Professors of Divinity, and

the Arminian or Ritualistic school, headed by the celebrated William Laud, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. It is in 1606 that we first meet with Laud, then a Bachelor of Divinity, in the pages of Anthony Wood, as preaching in St. Mary's Church, and letting fall "divers passages savouring of Popery," as the Calvinistic majority thought, for which he was called to account by the Vice-Chancellor. These reactionary doctrines, half political, half theological, and affirming at once the Divine right of Kings and the Divine right of Bishops, rapidly gained ground at Oxford, as well as at Court, under the patronage of Prince Charles and Buckingham. When Laud was promoted to the see of Bath and Wells, and afterwards of London, his work was eagerly carried on by others. Professor Montagu Burrows, who has thrown valuable light on this period of Academical history, tells us that "Brian Duppa, Sheldon, Stewart, Jeremy Taylor, and several other good, able, and learned men, marched at Oxford alongside of Laud in London, and soon changed the current of Oxford theology." At last, after Laud was elected Chancellor in 1630, Arminianism became dominant, the most unscrupulous use was made of the King's prerogative in crushing all opposition to it, and preachers of the rival school were either silenced or forced to recant. In the meantime, the University was being repopulated by students, who are said to have numbered "above 2,420" in the year 1611. But their morals are also said to have been gradually corrupted by the progress of luxury, and drinking in taverns, with other disorders, became more and more prevalent. It is remarkable that Anthony Wood dates

this degeneracy from the festivities lavished on the visit of James I., in 1605, when, as we learn from the Register, the Colleges taxed themselves for his reception at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on their ancient rents.

It is probable that Savile was absent at Eton or elsewhere during this visit, for it does not appear that any demand was made by the Royal party on the wonted hospitality of Merton. But it is also possible that he had incurred the displeasure of that pedantic monarch by reason of his refusal to sanction the practice of having a sermon preached every Tuesday, by members of each College in rotation, to commemorate the King's escape from a plot laid against his life in Scotland. However, James I. was duly welcomed at the gate of Christ Church with a flattering allocution by Isaac Wake, Fellow of Merton, and then Public Orator, who afterwards wrote a description of the Royal visit under the complimentary title of "*Rex Platonius*." Wake is specially mentioned with other Merton scholars among the favourite pupils to whom legacies of books were left by the learned Dr. Rainolds, President of Corpus, and brother of the former Warden of Merton. But he was less famous in the University than his brother Fellow Francis Mason, who obtained the highest reputation as a literary champion of the new Anglican Church. Savile himself was among the selected translators of the four Gospels for the Authorised Version of the New Testament, and the College Register shows that he obtained a loan of books from the Library for that purpose. Though he is somewhat disparaged in the Rector of Lincoln's biography of Casaubon as a patron of learning rather than a learned man, he published under his own name a considerable number of more or less solid works. In one of these, his edition of St. Chrysostom, he was aided by the liberality of the College, which also voted an allowance to the great scholar, John Hales of Eton, still

a Fellow of Merton, for helping the Warden in his researches.

Having rebuilt St. Alban Hall, and the north front of Merton College, Savile was now actively engaged in that southward extension of the College buildings, the frontage of which towards Christ Church meadows is perhaps the most picturesque facade in Oxford. It does not clearly appear whence the funds were procured for this costly work, and we can only suppose that they had been carefully hoarded up for years before. At all events, it was finished by Michaelmas, 1610, and, if occupied by the Senior Fellows, must have contributed to deepen the line of separation between them and the younger scholars, or the new order of commoners.

An entry in the College Register, dated 1607, shows that a resolution was then passed to admit twelve "pensioners," apparently on the footing of gentlemen commoners, being the sons of knights or gentlemen "of great name," each of whom, at his entrance, should present the College with a silver cup. In 1616, however, the College displayed good sense by rescinding this resolution, the admission of pensioners having proved detrimental to College discipline. Meanwhile, the number of Fellows seems to have been generally kept up to twenty-five or upwards, and it is expressly mentioned that two probationers were elected in 1602, after a public examination lasting over three days.

On March 29 in 1613, Merton College was the scene of an imposing ceremonial on the occasion of Thomas Bodley's funeral. This great benefactor of the University, who had been a Fellow of Merton for nearly thirty years, was unwise enough to bequeath 666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for the celebration of his own obsequies. Accordingly, some days before the actual interment, his body was brought down from London, and lay in State within Merton College Hall, where it was attended by three "*Heralds of Arms*," and visited by all the members of the

foundation and College-servants. The funeral procession, swelled by a vast body of University dignitaries and students, made a circuit through Christ Church to Carfax, down High Street to St. Mary's Church, and thence to the Divinity School, where an eloquent oration was delivered, back again to St. Mary's, where a funeral sermon was preached, and so home to Merton, where, says Anthony Wood, "the body was committed to the earth at the upper end of the Choir, under the North Wall." A funeral dinner, costing 100*l.*, expressly bequeathed for the purpose, was then served in the Hall to a very large party, including all the Heads of Houses, and "those who had mourning weeds."

A few months later in the same year, Isaac Casaubon was eagerly profiting by the munificence of Bodley, and devouring books in the Bodleian Library, having been driven across from Eton to Oxford, by Sir Henry Savile, in his own carriage, and introduced by him to the University. This Library had been originally designed by Bodley, with the assistance of Savile, in 1598, and in 1599 Merton College had contributed to it "thirty-eight volumes of singular good books in folio," the value of which is estimated in the College Register at 40*l.* or 50*l.*, in addition to a previous gift of seasoned timber. Twenty years later (in 1620) Savile himself made another donation of Greek folios, with a number of MSS., both Greek and Latin. On the other hand, Bodley is believed to have refaced the old shelves of Merton Library with ornamental woodwork, and covered the north wall of it with the existing panels. The College itself appears to have spent nearly 130*l.* in additions to its Library in 1599.¹ The Bodleian Library, however, soon dwarfed all College Libraries, and, in conjunction with the contemporary edifice of the Schools, towards which

Merton contributed 20*l.* on two separate occasions, it rapidly became the centre of Oxford studies in the seventeenth century. It was doubtless in honourable emulation of Bodley that Savile was led, in 1619, to found the two Savilian Chairs of Geometry and Astronomy, open to Mathematicians from any part of Christendom. At the same time, as we learn from Anthony Wood, he erected "a private Mathematical Library, for the use of his readers, between the Geometry and Astronomy Schools," and, as Bodley had left "chests" of money to be used like a reserve fund by the University and Merton College respectively, so also Savile endowed a "Mathematical Chest" with 100*l.* He himself opened the Professorial teaching in Geometry with a short course of lectures; and Briggs, the first Savilian Professor of Geometry, was also engaged to lecture thrice a week on Arithmetic in the Hall of Merton College, "being all the time of his abode in Oxford a Commoner there."² In 1620 Savile directed that a selection should be made out of his own Library of such books as might be required for the College Library, and gave these to the College. It may be added that in 1623 the College Library was fitted up with new seats, and enlarged by the annexation of a vacant room at its east end.

On the 19th of February, 1622, Savile died, and was succeeded by Nathaniel Brent, a man of a very different type, whom Anthony Wood mentions with little respect, but who seems to have borne himself well through his long and stirring Wardenship of twenty-nine years, broken, however, by a three years' interlude during Charles I.'s occupation of Oxford. Brent had been elected a Probationer Fellow of Merton, in 1594, and had filled the office of Proctor in 1607. He afterwards travelled much, and went through some perilous adventures in Italy, while he was collecting records of the Council of Trent, which he sub-

¹ In 1641 a donation of Mr. Allen, an ex-Fellow, was expended on Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Arabian, and Persian books.

² Briggs died at Merton in 1661.

sequently translated. He was Commissary and Vicar-General to Archbishop Abbott, Laud's great rival, whose niece he married, and was also Judge of the Prerogative Court. When he became Warden, the royal power was virtually in the hands of Prince Charles and Buckingham, under whose patronage the fortunes of Laud were in the ascendant. Four years later, in 1625, James I. died, and the plague raged so fiercely in London, that Charles I.'s first Parliament had to be held at Oxford, and all the Colleges and Halls received an order from the Privy Council, directing them to clear their rooms for the reception of the Lords and Commons. Accordingly all the Bachelors and Postmasters of Merton were sent into the country by a summary College order. The plague, however, followed the Parliament to Oxford, and Michaelmas Term had to be postponed until November 9. The Masters of Arts and servants who remained during the Long Vacation in Merton, were prohibited by another College order from venturing outside the gate without special leave.

It was not long before Charles I., notwithstanding the murder of Buckingham, fell under the influence of those evil counsels which at last brought about the Great Rebellion. Like his predecessors, however, he was most anxious to conciliate the Universities, and in 1629 paid a solemn visit to Oxford, entering it, as usual, from Woodstock. On August 23, the Doctors and Proctors went out thither to salute the King, and though Brent could scarcely have been in favour with Laud, he was selected for the honour of knighthood. On the following day, the French and Dutch Ambassadors, with a number of the nobility, were received at Merton by Sir Nathaniel Brent and the Fellows, complimented in the inevitable oration, and "entertained with a very sumptuous banquet in the College Gallery." Again, on August 27, according to Anthony Wood's account, "the King, Queen, and the retinue

went to Merton College, and, being received by the Warden and the Society at the common gate (Mr. James Marshe of that House then speaking it before them), were conducted into the Gallery before mentioned, where they were all royally entertained with a rich banquet at the College charges in honour of their newly knighted Warden." The King was then shown over the College, of which he was destined to see so much at a later epoch of his reign. Next year (1630) Archbishop Laud—that perfect model of a College-Don in the sense now happily obsolete—was elected Chancellor of the University by a small majority against Philip, Earl of Pembroke. He lost no time in commencing that campaign against laxity of discipline and doctrine which left a permanent mark on the University. Not the least of his reforms was the new proctorial cycle, which, as Professor Burrows remarks, "put an end to a perennial source of disturbance." This cycle, embracing a period of twenty-three years, was devised by Peter Turner, of Merton, and the rank of Merton among Colleges may be inferred from the fact that while six turns were assigned to Christ Church within this period, five to Magdalen, and four to New College, three were assigned to Merton, All Souls, Exeter, Brasenose, St. John's, and Wadham respectively, and two or one to each of the rest. Peter Turner seems to have been a special confidant of Laud, since he is not only mentioned by Anthony Wood as a reputed Arminian, together with his brother-Fellows, Richard Corbet, and James Marsh, but also as one who kept up a correspondence with the Chancellor about University matters. Moreover, he was among those, including Thomas French, sometime Fellow of Merton, who helped to frame the Laudian, or Caroline, Statutes, issued by Royal authority in 1636. These Statutes, which remained in force within living memory, were a monument of Laud's disciplinarian activity. The spirit in which they were conceived may be

inferred from the fact that Puritans and anti-Arminians were jealously excluded from co-operation in drawing them up, as well as from the insertion of certain passages which gave offence to men of that school. Still they were mostly salutary in themselves, and apparently effected some improvement both in Academical manners and in Academic administration. This was also the alleged object of the "Caroline Charter," granted to the University in 1635, under which its jurisdiction over its own members was confirmed and strengthened.

In 1636, Charles I. again visited Oxford in State, as Laud's guest, but the glory of hospitality was chiefly monopolized by Christ Church and St. John's, the Chancellor's own College. Merton probably took no active part in his reception, but contributed 20%, or 5 per cent. on its ancient rent of 400%, towards the expense of entertaining the Court, which afterwards demanded a further contribution of 5%. On this occasion, the Elector Palatine and his younger brother, the celebrated Prince Rupert, were presented by Sir Nathaniel Brent for their M.A. degrees. It is some proof of the respect in which Brent was held that, in 1640, Prideaux the Rector of Exeter, and Hood the Rector of Lincoln voted, though without success, for his election as Burgess for the University; an honour which had been conferred on Sir Thomas Crompton, also a Mertonian, when the University was first enfranchised by James I.

A very welcome light is thrown upon the internal life of Merton in the reign of Charles I., by the Ordinances of Archbishop Laud, dated May 9, 1640. There had been frequent interventions of former Archbishops, as Visitors of the College, during the religious troubles of the previous century, those of Crammer and Matthew Parker being specially memorable. But the interferences of Laud, as might be expected, were far more frequent and minute, and in one instance he went so far as to appoint

a Sub-Warden by his own authority. The elaborate Ordinances now known as his were the result of a formal Visitation, instituted in 1638, and conducted by the Bishop of Oxford, Sheldon, Warden of All Souls, and two other Commissioners. These Ordinances are a revised and enlarged edition of directions issued by the Archbishop himself during the course of the inquiry, and preserved in the College Register. Other directions, relating to personal or occasional matters, were issued on the spot by the Visitors. One of the articles of charge preferred against Laud on his trial alleged that his Visitors at Merton had enjoined the Fellows and Scholars to bow to the Lord's Table, and had censured Messrs. Cheynel and Corbet for not doing so. At all events, the Ordinances founded on their report disclose the searching nature of their proceedings, and purport to regulate almost every detail of collegiate discipline and management. Not only are all the members of the foundation to attend the Chapel services in surplices and hoods on all Sundays and feast days; but all Masters of less than two years standing, as well as all Bachelors and Scholars, are to attend every morning between five and six o'clock. It is added that "your brethren of St. Alban Hall shall not be admitted into the choir," or allowed to wear surplices and hoods. All the Doctors and Masters above two years standing are to engage in theological disputations once a week, if there are eight in residence; otherwise, once a fortnight, or at least twice a Term. Disputations in Arts are to be held, apparently, every day for two hours, beginning before seven o'clock. These disputations had always been a characteristic feature of Merton discipline, but it is equally characteristic of Merton traditions that a dispensation is allowed to "such Doctors or Masters as may be absent for the purpose of travel, or in the discharge of duties in the families of the nobility or other grandees." An instance of such ab-

sence on leave had occurred in 1618 when John Hales, Fellow of Eton and Merton, accompanied George Carleton, once a Fellow of Merton, but then Bishop of Llandaff, on a deputation from James I. to the Synod of Dort. A second instance of a similar kind is supplied by the case of Griffin Hyggs, another Fellow of Merton, who had been sent by Charles I. to the Hague, in 1627, to be Chaplain to his sister Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia.

The Ordinances proceed to enjoin that no Fellow is to absent himself from the College for more than four months in the year, except for grave reasons to be approved by the Warden, and the dates of their departure and return are to be carefully noted in a book. Masters of Arts are not to hold converse with Bachelors and Scholars, except in the Chapel or Hall. The gates of the College are to be closed at half-past nine, and the keys given to the Warden, and none are to sleep in Oxford outside the College walls. All are to breakfast and dine in the Hall, carefully separated according to their degrees.¹ Leases are always to be made for twenty-one years, and fines or leases are to be divided, so that half may be appropriated to the Warden and Fellows, and half to "Domus," or the common uses of the College—a principle of division constantly maintained until leases began to be run out some thirty years ago. There are never to be more than twenty-four Fellows, and neither more than five, nor less than three, are to be elected at the same time. Fellows accepting College benefices, or possessing a private income exceeding that of a Fellowship, are to vacate their Fellowships after a year of grace. The weekly, monthly, and yearly accounts are to be kept with strict accuracy. The Subwardenship is to be held for a year only, so that all may become acquainted with College business. All the College documents

are to be deposited in the Treasury and properly catalogued. Rents are to be paid at once into "the public chest," henceforth to be furnished with two locks; which may or may not be the same with Bodley's chest, still existing, with three locks, in minute accordance with his will. All Fellows and Scholars are to walk about in a modest, decent, and clerical garb of black or grey, wearing neither slashed dresses, nor wide collars, nor boots under their robes, and never curling their hair. All conversation within the College is to be in Latin, and no double flagons, but only single cups are to be used in drinking²—a rule which Sir Henry Savile had vainly striven to enforce.

The practice of keeping a furnished house in London for the use of the Warden and Fellows is to be abandoned, and two chambers only are to be retained for that purpose.³ In the election of Fellows a *ceteris paribus* preference is always to be given to scholars of the College; and any Fellow who receives either reward or promise for promoting the election of any candidate to a Scholarship is to lose his Fellowship at once.⁴ Finally,

² This is Mr. Percival's translation of the Ordinance. More probably the "*potus simplex*," was small beer, as opposed to "*cerevisia duplex*," or strong beer.

³ This practice seems to have been first sanctioned by a College order in 1626, when it was agreed to hire and furnish a house in Warwick Street.

⁴ In 1631, when the Queen had recommended a candidate for a Fellowship, and his father pressed his claims on the strength thereof, a very spirited reply was made by the College.

An entry in the College Register, dated January 8, 1639, states that three Probationers were elected on that day "*post accuratum et sincerum examen candidatorum*."

On June 21, 1642, four Probationer Fellows were elected, against the protest of Mr. Peter Turner, whose opinion was adopted by the College on April 22, 1643, when it refused to admit these Probationers as actual Fellows, chiefly because the corporate revenues did not admit of any further charge. The King afterwards enjoined the College to admit two, Woods and Lydall, and it was agreed to do so, upon certain conditions, at the following Michaelmas.

¹ A College order of 1627 gave "Post-masters" the privilege of coming into Hall to supper at the same time with the Fellows.

these Injunctions of the Visitor, together with the Founder's Statutes, are to be publicly read before all the Fellows and Scholars thrice a year in the Hall, and three copies are to be made, one to be in the custody of the Warden, one in that of the Sub-Warden, and one to be kept chained in the College Library. In the attestation-clause, Sir Nathaniel Brent, one of the witnesses, is described as the Archbishop's Vicar-General and Municipal Official. A remarkable entry in the College Register, of November 6, 1641, joyfully records the fact that on that day the Visitation of Merton which had lasted three years and a half, and which threatened to rival the siege of Troy, was brought to an end by Divine Providence, "being the most unjust of Visitations, and worse than the worst of all."

On the 25th of June in this year (1641) Laud had resigned the Chancellorship, and by the summer of 1642 the Civil War had really commenced, though the battle of Edgehill was not fought until October.¹ On July 7 the King, then at York, addressed a requisition to Prideaux as Vice-Chancellor, inviting the Colleges to contribute money for his service, by way of loan at 8 per cent. interest. Convocation immediately voted away all the reserve funds in Savile's, Bodley's, and the University Chests. A letter from the King, dated from Beverley on July 18, shows that a large subsidy had already reached him, though in the meantime Parliament had issued an order declaring the requisition illegal, and directing guard and watch to be set on all highways about Oxford. On September 1 a troop of Royalist horse,

under Sir John Byron, entered the City, but left it on September 10, at the approach of a superior Parliamentary force. During this short occupation Dr. Peter Turner, Fellow of Merton and Savilian Professor of Geometry, acted on a Delegacy for provisioning the Royal troops, in support of whom a body of graduates and students was enrolled and regularly drilled in the Park. On the departure of Sir John Byron, Turner accompanied him, and, being captured in a skirmish near Stow in the Wold, was brought to Banbury and committed to Northampton Gaol. When a Parliamentary force occupied the City on September 12, Colonel Goodwin, their commander, and other officers were quartered at Merton, while their horses were turned out in Christ Church meadow. On September 15, Merton, with other "Southern" Colleges, was disarmed, and searched for plate; but Christ Church seems to have been the only College actually robbed of plate on that occasion.

On the 29th of October, 1642, the King entered Oxford after the battle of Edgehill, and thenceforward Oxford became the head-quarters of the Royal army, as well as the seat of the Royal Government. Charles I. himself always lodged at Christ Church, with the Princes, "except Rupert and Maurice," and there kept his Court, often going forth on expeditions, but falling back on Oxford. Fortifications were now pushed on in earnest, one work extending from Grandpont or Folly Bridge, across Christ Church meadow, in front of Merton. Arms taken away from the citizens suspected of sympathy with the enemy were stored in New College Tower and Cloister, now converted into a magazine. Volunteer corps of students, already formed and trained in New College quadrangle, were now regularly employed on guard, and it was said that, in 1646, twenty out of a hundred students of Christ Church were officers in the King's army.

On January 10, 1643, the King's

¹ On January 17, 1642, letters from the King to the University "*de Reipublice negotiis*" were publicly read to the Fellows by the Warden. On July 8 in the same year declarations sent down by the Parliament were read out in like manner by the Sub-Warden, Greaves, who had been elected on March 24, under a special mandate of the King to the five Senior Fellows, in consequence of the prolonged absence of the Warden and the Sub-Warden, Corbet.

letters were sent to all Colleges and Halls, demanding their plate to be melted down for his service, and all are stated to have complied, except New Inn Hall, which accordingly was turned into a Royal Mint. Soon afterwards most housekeepers were obliged to do likewise, and Anthony Wood particularly mentions that even the plate given him by his godfathers and godmothers shared the same fate. On January 16 300*l.* more was "borrowed" from the University Chest. There seems to be no entry in the Merton Register expressly directing the College plate to be given up for the King's use, but it was certain that it was given up, and two of the Fellows afterwards mutually accused each other of having thus misappropriated the College property. Indeed, an exact account of the plate contributed by the various Colleges of Oxford, as well as by the gentry of the county, is preserved in Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*. Magdalen heads the list with 296 lbs. and 6 oz.; All Souls' follows with 253 lbs., Exeter with 246 lbs., and the next largest quotas are furnished by Queens', Trinity, and Christ Church. Merton sent in between 79 lbs. and 80 lbs., being about the average amount contributed by the remaining Colleges, while 701 lbs. were sent in by six country gentlemen, one of whom, Sir Peter Wick, contributed as much as 360 lbs. It appears from the archives of All Souls that these gifts of plate were treated as loans, to be repaid at a fixed rate per ounce, but it is perhaps needless to say that no such repayment ever took effect. On June 14, 1643, another levy of 2,000*l.* was made upon the University and City respectively. The University raised its quota by taxing each College, not excluding the servants; and the City, in an unwonted fit of loyalty, added another 500*l.*, about the assessment of which a dispute afterwards arose. At last, in October, 1643, the Heads of Houses agreed that 40*l.* should be raised weekly by the Uni-

versity during the next twenty weeks, by a levy on Colleges and Halls, in consideration of the scholars being exempted from all further contributions towards new fortifications. An entry in the College Register, dated August 4, 1643, informs us that, since the whole society was impoverished by the non-payment of rents, and many of the Fellows were driven to live in the country or abroad, the Sub-warden and those who remained at home resolved that, as soon as peace should be restored, the absent members should receive an equal share of their customary allowances with their resident brethren. As for University studies and discipline, they were almost suspended, and the strange pictures of Oxford during the King's residence preserved in the pages of *John Ingle-sant* are supported by the evidence of Anthony Wood and other contemporary authors.

It was not until July 13, 1643, that Queen Henrietta Maria joined the King at Oxford. The King went out to meet her, and she was received with great ceremony at Christ Church, whence "she was conducted by the King to Merton College, by a back way made for that purpose through one of the Canon's gardens, another garden belonging to Corpus Christi College, and then through Merton Grove." On her arrival the Public Orator did not fail to salute her with the address which Royalty was never spared, and various dignitaries were presented to her. She was lodged in the Warden's house, occupying at intervals for nearly three years the rooms still known as "The Queen's Room," and the drawing-room adjoining. The King was constantly there, probably finding Merton a pleasant retreat from the bustle of Christ Church, and doubtless many interesting reunions took place there of which history is silent. It is particularly remarked by Anthony Wood that, during the Queen's stay in Merton there were divers marriages, christenings, and burials in the Chapel, of which all

record has been lost, as the private Register in which the chaplain had noted them was stolen out of his room when Oxford was finally surrendered to Fairfax. Meanwhile the City was scourged by a great plague in 1643, followed by a great fire in 1644, which ravaged the quarter west of St. Aldate's and the Corn-market; but probably these calamities had little effect on the spirits of the Cavalier officers.

Unhappily, the general history of Oxford during this memorable period is but very briefly told by Anthony Wood, then a boy, who had been sent out of harm's way to Thame, and much remains to invite the researches of some modern antiquary. The domestic annals of Merton are no less meagre, but the Register contains an interesting account of the proceedings before and on the election of the illustrious Harvey, discoverer of the circulation of the blood, to the Wardenship of Merton. On the 27th of January, 1645, letters were received from the King, still lodged at Christ Church, reciting the fact of Sir Nath. Brent having absented himself for nearly three years, having adhered to the rebels, and having accepted the office of Judge Marshal in their ranks—to which might have been added that he had actually signed the Covenant. We learn from the articles afterwards exhibited against Dr. John Greaves, then a Fellow of the College and Savilian Professor of Astronomy, that he was the person who drew up the petition against the Warden, and “inveigled some unwary young men to subscribe it.” The King's letters accordingly pronounce the deposition of Brent, and direct the seven senior Fellows to present three persons as eligible to be his successors, out of whom the King would choose one. The Royal mandate was obeyed, but there were some irregularities in the consequent election against which Peter Turner protested, and resigned his Fellowship, on his protest being overruled by Lord Hertford, who had

succeeded the Earl of Pembroke as Chancellor in October, 1643. However, five out of the seven Seniors, including the Subwarden, placed Harvey first on their lists, and the King lost no time in nominating him. Harvey was educated at Caius College, Cambridge, but had been incorporated at Oxford after the battle of Edgehill. He was solemnly admitted Warden, according to the ancient custom, on the 9th of April, and two days later addressed the Fellows in a somewhat Pharisaical speech, assuring them that, unlike some of his predecessors, he assumed office with no desire of enriching himself, but rather of advancing the interests of the College. His reign at Merton lasted but a single year, and, under such conditions, could not leave any mark on the corporate life of the College, then occupied in force by the Court and partially converted into officers' barracks. Indeed, it is recorded in the Register that on August 1, 1645, the College meeting was held in the Library, neither the Hall nor the Warden's lodgings being then available for the purpose. Meanwhile, on May 22, after various feints against the City, Oxford was invested by Fairfax, and vainly besieged for fifteen days. On the 14th of June, however, the Royal cause was ruined at Naseby, and on the 27th of November a supply of provisions was laid in by the College against another expected siege. On the 28th of December, the King ordered special forms of prayer to be used in the Chapel on Wednesdays and Fridays “during these bad times.” On the 24th of the following March, we find the College giving a bond for 94*l.*, on account of provisions, which it evidently had not the ready money to purchase. In the spring of 1646 Fairfax regularly laid siege to Oxford, and on June 24 it was surrendered on very honourable terms, the garrison marching out over Shotover, 3,000 strong. In the Treaty of Surrender, the rights and privileges of the Uni-

versity and Colleges were expressly reserved, but with a distinct proviso intimating that a reform was intended by the Parliament.

Harvey must now have retired from the Wardenship, and Brent must have resumed office, though no minute of either event is preserved in the College Register. We find, however, that in September, 1648, Brent rendered accounts, as Warden, for the four years from 1642 to 1646. In the beginning of February, 1647, the Earl of Pembroke again became Chancellor in the place of the Marquis of Hertford. Anthony Wood describes, in language which has often been quoted, the utter confusion in which the past three years had left the University: the Colleges impoverished, lectures almost abandoned, many of the students dispersed and others quite demoralised—"in a word, scarce the face of an University left, all things being out of order and disturbed." This account is confirmed by a striking entry in the College Register, under the date of October 19, 1646. It is here stated that by the Divine goodness the Civil War had at last been stayed, and the Warden (Brent) with most of the Fellows had returned, but that as there were no Bachelors, hardly any Scholars, and few Masters, it was decided to elect but one Bursar and one Dean. It is added, that as the Hall still lay "*situ et ruinis squalida*," the College meeting was held in the Warden's lodgings. At the same meeting, two Fellows of Merton, Fowle and Lovejoy, were suspended for having borne arms against the Parliament.

Nevertheless, there was vigour enough in the University to organise an effective resistance to the Parliamentary Visitation already known to be impending, but first initiated by an Ordinance issued on May 1, 1647. Professor Montagu Burrows, in his exhaustive monograph on this Visitation, has depicted the anarchy which prevailed in the interval, and the attempt made by Parliament, then

dominated by Presbyterians, to convert the Academical mind through Presbyterian discourses. Considering that Merton had been so long the Queen's abode, it is somewhat remarkable that it should have produced three out of the seven Presbyterian ministers commissioned for this service, with power to preach in any Oxford church—Edward Reynolds, Francis Cheynell, and Edward Corbet. Reynolds, the most eminent of these, had always been an anti-Arminian, and was among the most celebrated preachers of his time. He took the Covenant, but afterwards refused the Engagement, pledging the signatories to a Government without a King or House of Lords; thus forfeiting the Deanery of Christ Church and Vice-Chancellorship to which he was promoted under the Commonwealth. He lived, however, to be Warden of Merton, and Bishop of Norwich. Cheynell was a fiery spirit, reputed to be *Malleus Hereticorum*, among the Presbyterians, and at this very time held a fierce disputation with one Erbury, of Brasenose, an Independent army-chaplain, in a meeting-house opposite to Merton. Corbet was a man of comparatively moderate opinions, and earned a good word from Anthony Wood himself for modesty and scholarship, since he resigned the Public Oratorship and a Canonry at Christ Church rather than sign the Engagement.

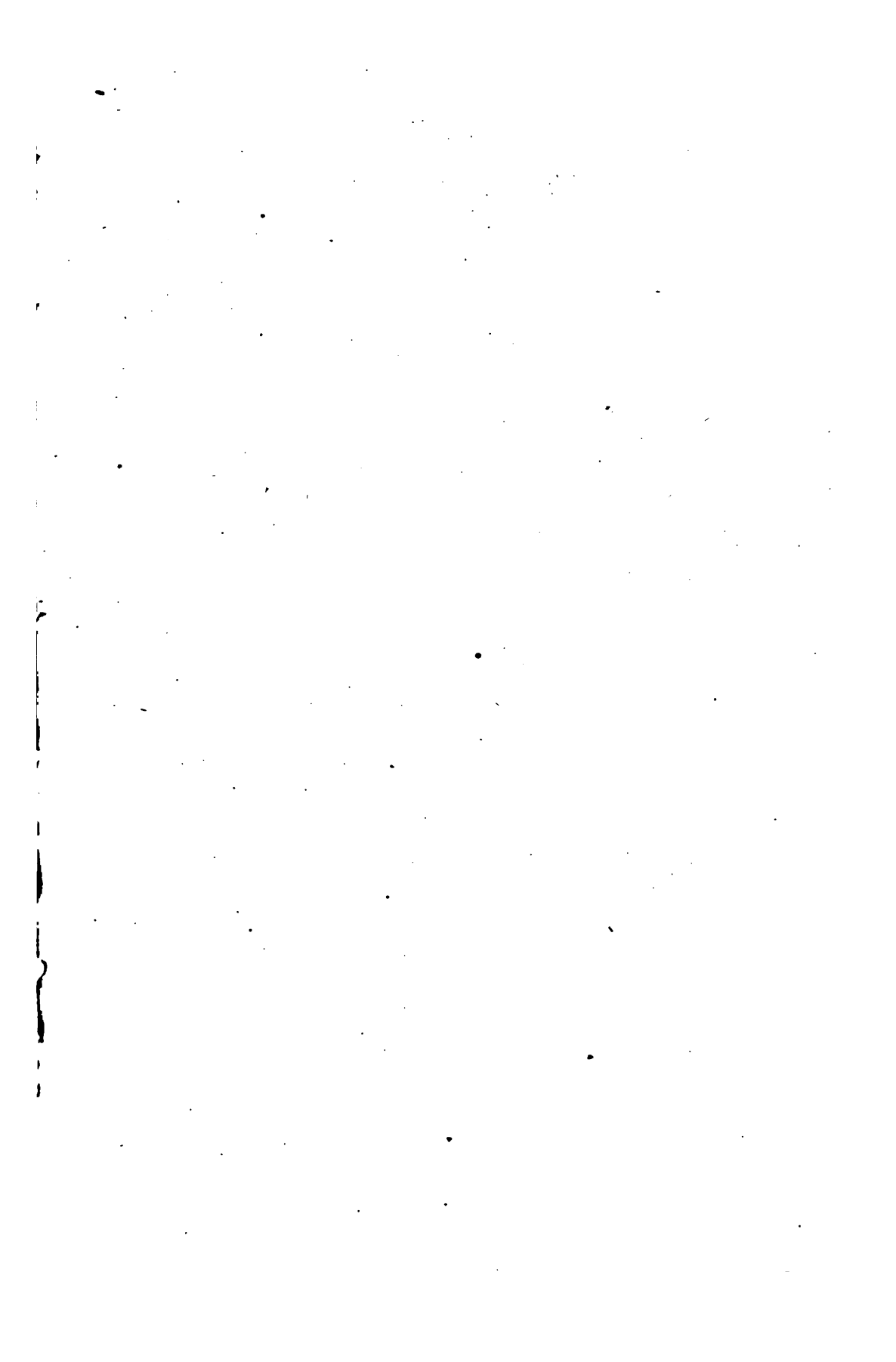
When the Parliamentary Visitation, or Commission, as we should call it, was issued in 1647, "for the due correction of offences, abuses, and disorders" in the University of Oxford, all these men were appointed Visitors. The President of the Commission was Sir Nathaniel Brent himself, who had gradually become a strong Presbyterian, and whom Anthony Wood accuses of having taken down the rich hangings over the High Altar to adorn his own bedroom, though it is shown by the College Register that this was done by express order of the College, after the

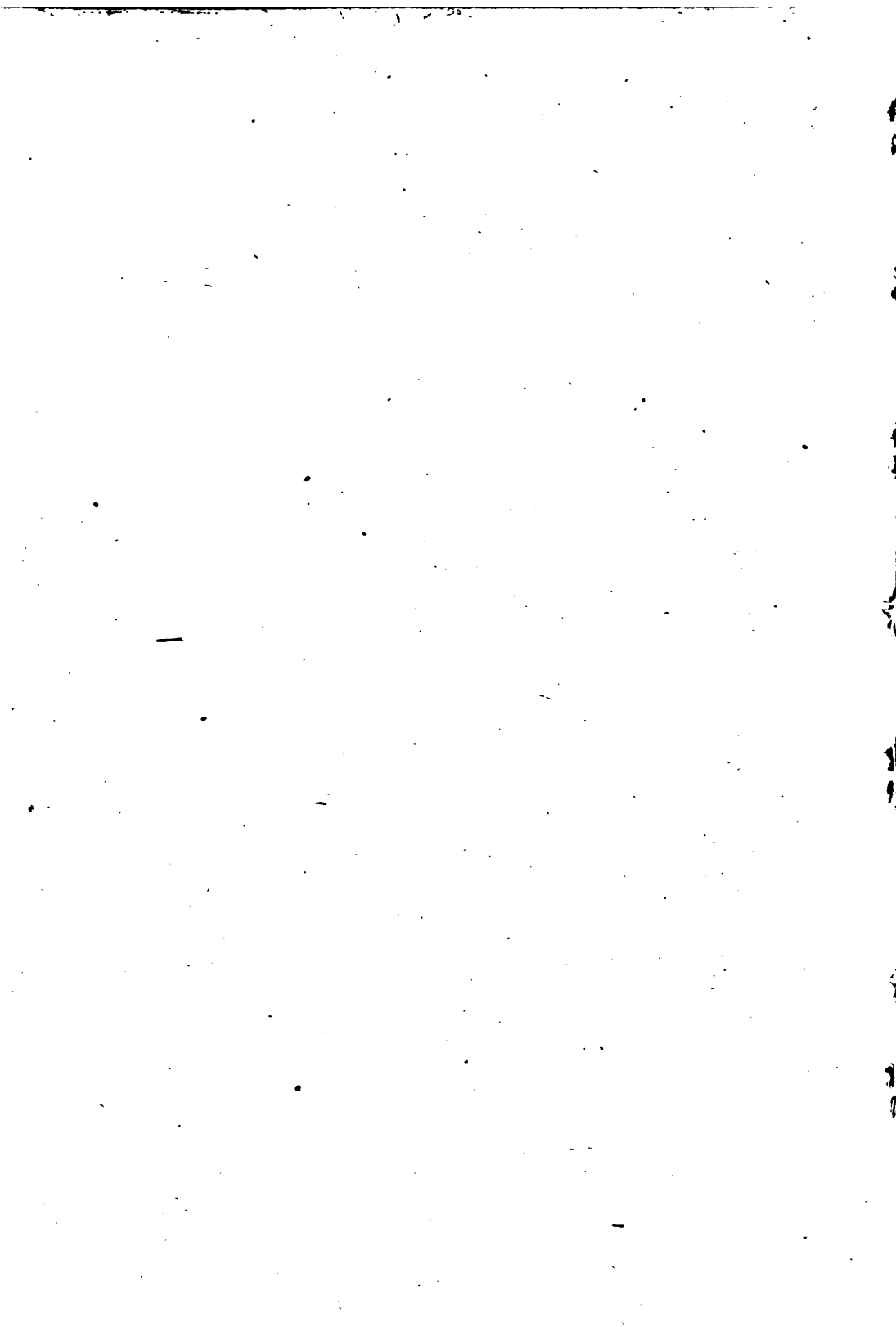
curtains had been thrown aside as lumber. The Visitors usually sat in the dining-room of the Warden's house, though sometimes in Cheynell's rooms, when he appears to have acted as Chairman in Brent's absence. Thus Merton again became the centre of an Academical Revolution, this time conducted by the leading men on its own governing body, and yet, like the Reformation or the Civil War, leaving but little trace on its domestic chronicle. In spite of the Commission, the quiet stream of College-life seems to have resumed its natural channel after the cessation of hostilities, and the return of Sir Nathaniel Brent. Indeed, the College Register for the Academical year beginning in August, 1647, differs in few material particulars from the College Register during the least troubled period. We have the election, in due course, of the Subwarden, the Deans, the Bursars, the Principal of the Postmasters, the Readers in Grammar and in Greek, and the keepers of Read's and Bodley's Chests. All the officers render their accounts as usual, and various decrees are passed for the payment of dividends in arrear. Presentations are duly made to livings, service is celebrated quarterly in memory of the Founder, the Statutes are read according to ancient usage, and a "Scrutiny" is held, according to a comparatively modern rule, which limited it to three questions—concerning the conduct of the servants, concerning the number of Postmasters, and concerning the election of a garden-master. The Subwarden is granted special leave of absence on two occasions, in order to prosecute the financial interests of the College in London, with the War-

den's assistance. A sum of 20*l.* is voted to a Fellow travelling in Italy, probably in lieu of his dividend. The Subwarden and the itinerant Bursar are commissioned to make the customary progress for the purpose of visiting the College estates.

None of these entries betoken any consciousness of the acute crisis through which not the College only, but the University, the Church, and the State were then passing. Not a word is said of Sir Nathaniel Brent having been appointed President of the Visitors, or of the Visitation having been issued at all. Indeed, political reticence is carried so far that, although we are told of the Earl of Pembroke's reception on April 11th, 1648, and of his residence in the College for three days, the purpose of his visit is studiously concealed, and the only incident of his arrival thought worthy of mention is the fact of the Mayor and Aldermen having been admitted into the College with all their beadles and tipstaves, by permission of the Warden and Fellows, but with an express proviso that it should not be drawn into a precedent. The important events here ignored, as well as the subsequent proceedings of the Parliamentary Visitors, in relation to Merton, are only to be learned from external sources. Happily, the public records of the Visitation enable us to fill up many blank spaces in the College Register, while the personal reminiscences of Anthony Wood supply copious materials for the next chapter of Merton history, embracing the period of the Commonwealth and the Restoration.

GEORGE C. BRODRICK,
Warden of Merton College, Oxford.





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